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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumaí economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumaí village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed 593
their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union 595
consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to 595
take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual re-
lations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior
would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they
entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of
their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept
the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have
been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband,
whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for
the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated
speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair
pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as
reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One
wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although
jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less
in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and
unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married
men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and
Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[589] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited
to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor
his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached meno-
pause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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582 [186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 595 837 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the 587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed [462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ee* (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apisi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not [831] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 684 835 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent; but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 602 831 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 605 831 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. 123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to 602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out 831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.